General Assembly Forty-ninth Session

57th Meeting Tuesday, 15 November 1994, 10.00 a.m. New York

President: Mr. Essy Coté d'Ivoire

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Agenda item 27

Cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

(a) Report of the Secretary-General (A/49/529)

(b) Draft resolution (A/49/L.20)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Italy to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.20.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy): I am honoured to speak on behalf of Italy and of the Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and to introduce the draft resolution on cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to the list of whose sponsors Iceland and Turkmenistan are to be added.

As we approach the Budapest Summit — an important juncture in the strengthening of the CSCE's action and structures — the draft resolution emphasizes the CSCE's growing contribution to stability and security in its area through preventive diplomacy, crisis management, arms control, disarmament, post-crisis rehabilitation and stabilization, and the human dimension, as an essential component of the entire CSCE process. The draft resolution encourages the CSCE participating States to make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of disputes in the CSCE area, through conflict-prevention and crisis management, including peace-keeping. The draft resolution also appeals for the full implementation and further strengthening of the framework agreement with the United Nations.

This full year of cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE has been enriched by many new initiatives. The Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has acknowledged on many occasions the contribution that the CSCE, together with other regional organizations, makes to international peace and security. We thus welcome the Secretary-General's useful report to the General Assembly, and we fully appreciate other initiatives, such as the meeting on 1 August, we hope will be repeated.

The broad range of problems that the CSCE and the United Nations must face demands that the full potential of their cooperation be further developed, as requested by the decisions of the Rome ministerial meeting in December 1993. The current or potential conflicts in many regions of the CSCE area imply the need for greater crisis-prevention efforts. Therefore, we need to update the roles and competencies that the United Nations already recognizes in the CSCE as a regional organization under Chapter VIII of the Charter. This is, in fact, the pillar of their relationship.

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A/49/PV.57

Official Records

The CSCE has started a wide range of initiatives in different crisis areas, often in close collaboration with the United Nations. These initiatives have benefited from close consultation with the United Nations, and have led to fruitful contacts with United Nations missions in the field. The CSCE and its Chairman-in-Office have paid constant attention to specific situations.

First, the CSCE wishes to play a significant role in the present phase of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in the phase that we hope will follow the end of hostilities. In Bosnia the newly-established CSCE mission in Sarajevo and the Ombudsmen are about to begin their activities for the protection of local ethnic groups. The appointment of the Ombudsmen is based on the mandate given to the CSCE by the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Chairman-in-Office has taken action to re-establish CSCE missions in order to monitor human rights and the situation of minorities in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina. The Chairman- in- Office, along with the other members of the Troika, has continued to guarantee a presence through local Embassies. The CSCE's role in the monitoring of sanctions continues to be important. The Sanctions Assistance Monitoring Missions consist of approximately 180 experts, and are deployed in seven countries.

Secondly, the activities of the CSCE Missions for the Baltic Countries are ongoing. The Chairman-in-Office visited Moscow, Tallin and Vilnius, and greeted with the warmest satisfaction the positive outcome of the agreements for the withdrawal of Russian troops by 31 August.

Thirdly, the CSCE's efforts to foster stability in Georgia and to settle the controversy over South Ossetia and Abkhazia also involve cooperation with the United Nations. To this end, I wish to underline the CSCE's ongoing commitment to promoting negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations. The Chairman-in-Office has repeatedly solicited the help of international organizations with regard to humanitarian problems.

Fourthly, the CSCE has been actively involved in negotiations between the Tajik Government and the opposition, which have led to the extension of the ceasefire, and intends to pursue the objective of a peaceful solution for this crisis.

Fifthly, the CSCE institutions — in particular, the Chairman-in-Office and the High Commissioner on National Minorities — have acted to confirm the CSCE's

commitment to peace and stability in Ukraine. Thus it was decided to establish a new CSCE mission, and at the same time to send high-level experts.

Sixthly, for more than two years the CSCE has been working to promote a negotiation that should end the conflict in and around Nagorny Karabakh, which has thus far led to more than 1 million refugees and the loss of thousands of human lives. The Swedish Chairman of the Minsk Group is performing his mediating functions with great dynamism and with the goal of finding a peaceful solution in conformity with the CSCE principles. We continue to believe that this is the best approach to solving the problem of Nagorny-Karabakh.

Seventhly, following the March 1994 elections, more favourable conditions were created in Moldova, which led to the signing of the joint declaration of the Moldovan Government and the Transnistrian authorities. We hope that all the parties involved will fully collaborate with the initiatives of the CSCE mission in Kishinev.

For some time now the role of the CSCE in the future shape of security in Europe has been discussed. There are no easy answers. Last July, in his capacity as Chairman-in-Office, Italy's Foreign Minister Martino remarked to the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly that when the Paris Charter was signed there was widespread optimism over the future of European relations. The drama of the former Yugoslavia and other regional conflicts that have exploded in other parts of Europe show that we were too optimistic. On the other hand, history teaches us that the road to progress is never straight. It often follows twisted itineraries and forces us into dramatic digressions.

In this context, we begin to wonder how the instrument born in Helsinki and reviewed in Paris to guarantee East-West dialogue in the new European reality can be adapted to the urgent new challenges posed by events. The upcoming Budapest Summit will be the most appropriate opportunity to give some fundamental responses.

In this spirit, we wish the best of success to the future Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE, Hungary, convinced that a contribution to the consolidation of the CSCE process can also come from the unanimous adoption of the draft resolution presented today.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed this morning at 11 a.m.

I hear no objection.

It was so decided.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names on the list as soon as possible.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian Federation would like to commend the role of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in transforming the European continent from a zone of political, ideological and military confrontation into a region where pan-European partnership and equal security for all are being pursued. The CSCE is now on the way to becoming a full-scale regional organization. It serves as a forum for constant and useful dialogue and is becoming one of the most important instruments for preventive diplomacy and the prevention and settlement of crises.

Russia is in favour of a central role for the CSCE in ensuring European security and stability, as reflected in the programme to enhance the effectiveness of the CSCE, which was our contribution to the preparations for the Budapest Summit. This presupposes, not a formal, hierarchical leadership, but, first and foremost, coordination on the part of the CSCE. In this context, we believe it is desirable to reaffirm our desire that the existing structures in the sphere of European security be guided by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and by the aims and principles of the CSCE.

Ensuring complete and effective cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations, including the organizations that are part of the United Nations system, requires the broad use of their experience and possibilities. At the same time, such cooperation will serve to strengthen the United Nations, as it will be able to rely on this powerful European organization. We believe that for the CSCE to apply in practice the principle proposed by the President of the Russian Federation, Mr. Yeltsin — the principle of cooperation between all and with all — we should begin work on a pan-European model of security without bloc elements, in close coordination with the system of collective security laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

In order to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the CSCE, we propose that the institutions of the Chairman-in-Office and of the Troika be strengthened and that the post of political adviser on security and stability be created. This is the purport of our proposal on the Executive Committee of the CSCE. We favour increasing the CSCE's contribution to preventive diplomacy. We share the view that the CSCE should be the instrument of first resort for States Parties when any conflicts arise in the region. Of course, this will not preclude the right of States to settle disputes between themselves on a mutual basis. At the same time, we oppose any attempts to have the CSCE monopolize peace-keeping efforts in individual conflicts, overlooking the unique potential that is possessed by certain individual States, including Russia. The mediation and peace-keeping efforts of the CSCE and individual countries should not be in competition; rather, they should complement and strengthen each other. This essentially is the principle of consensus that has been adopted by the CSCE.

The Russian Federation believes it necessary to reorient the Human Dimension Mechanism in order to combat aggressive nationalism. This is the purpose of our proposals to strengthen the institution of the CSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities and to make binding the accountability of States for the implementation of these recommendations and to strengthen the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.

We believe that the political dimension of the CSCE needs to be modernized. We must have a fresh approach to disarmament questions, arms control and confidencebuilding measures — in particular, taking into account the new realities, to settle the problem of the limitations of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe posed by countries which, although inside the area covered by that Treaty, are at its very borders.

We favour turning the CSCE into a fully fledged regional organization with its own statute and a network of institutes and machinery. This would contribute to achieving the purposes of the United Nations within the context of a regional division of labour with the CSCE. Russia attaches great importance to the development of cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations on the basis of the Helsinki Document of 1992 and the framework agreement between the United Nations and the CSCE of 1993. We welcome the expansion of cooperation between these two organizations at the highest levels and in the field. The exchange of information of all kinds is ongoing. It is important that the United Nations give the CSCE the benefit of its experience in the practical activities of the Secretariat and in peacemaking activities, which the CSCE does not yet have.

Russia actively promotes productive cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE in conflict situations. If for any reason the CSCE, because of its meagre experience and opportunities, is unable to cope with certain conflicts, these issues can be forwarded to the United Nations Security Council. We believe that some key areas of cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations would include early detection, preventive diplomacy, crisis prevention, the peaceful settlement of conflicts and peace-keeping activities. In the future, these tasks should be carried out by the CSCE in full accordance with the United Nations Charter and retaining the main responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Of course, the themes of cooperation between the two organizations would not be limited to preventive and peacekeeping operations. There is considerable potential for cooperation in other areas as well: the democratization of public life, the guarantee of the fundamental human rights and freedoms of national minorities, and assistance in the establishment of democratic institutions and a market economy in the countries in transition. We hope that the second and third baskets of the CSCE will be used to devote further attention to this area. We must also expand channels of cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE by focusing on the situation of national minorities. There must be closer contact between the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the CSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities.

Cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE can also be strengthened in the following areas: the further development of the framework agreement between the United Nations and the CSCE; regular contact between the United Nations Secretary-General, the Presidents of the Security Council and the General Assembly and the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE; participation in the meetings of the Security Council of the CSCE Chairman-in-Office when problems relating to regions within the purview of the Conference are discussed; expanding the practice of the representative of the CSCE Chairman-in-Office's participating in the elaboration of General Assembly documents, as occurred with the declaration on improving United Nations cooperation with regional organizations in peace-keeping; the regular holding of the meetings that began on 1 August 1994 between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and leaders of regional organizations, including the CSCE; and permanent contacts between United Nations and CSCE missions, the preparation of joint reports and joint missions in the fields of preventive diplomacy and peacemaking.

In view of the importance to Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States of economic reforms, we are in favour of strengthening cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE in the economic field, including on the problems of countries with transitional economies, particularly through the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. We believe that, within this cooperation, the CSCE could generate general ideas and principles and that their practical implementation could fall to the Economic Commission for Europe within the limits of its responsibility. We should reduce to a common denominator the priorities of the Commission and the CSCE, including such areas, for example, as industry and conversion. The Russian delegation is convinced that the adoption by the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session of the draft resolution entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe", of which we are a sponsor, would provide fresh impetus to the strengthening of cooperation between these two organizations.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to the importance of the current debate, since it occurs on the eve of the Budapest Summit which, we hope, will serve as a milestone on the road to the CSCE's becoming an efficient and effective international organization.

Mr. Cassar (Malta): The role of regional arrangements and organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security was recognized at the inception of the United Nations and continued to emerge despite the extreme constrictions and constraints imposed by the very logic of the cold war. Five years ago, the walls dividing Europe were torn down by people who had suffered totalitarian rule for more than four decades. The policy of containment was forced to give way to a policy of wider and sounder cooperation between States and peoples. An altered horizon of hope was envisioned for the continent.

The dramatic changes that occurred in the heart of Europe proved to be a turning-point in the history of the international community as a whole and for the United Nations in particular. The increased importance of regional organizations today is proof of the prevailing relevance of their contributions to the maintenance of peace and security in a changed international environment. Their advantage lies in the better understanding of shared values and principles, guided by the flexibility of approach required in identifying and resolving the root causes of tension and conflict.

My delegation welcomes the report (A/49/529) of the Secretary-General on Cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). One notes with satisfaction that the process of enhanced cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE in terms of the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter is now bearing fruit in areas as varied as peacekeeping, conflict prevention and the human dimension. This fruitful cooperation is beneficial in itself, for it helps both the United Nations and the CSCE to make the best use of their respective comparative advantages. Equally important, however, is that other aspect which the Secretary-General singles out: the avoidance of costly duplication in undertaking missions.

Cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations remains vital for overall regional stability. This intrinsic interdependence was the key element which Malta emphasized when my Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Guido de Marco, first proposed that the CSCE be declared a regional arrangement in terms of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter at the CSCE Council of Ministers in Prague in 1992. The endorsement of this proposal later that year by the CSCE Helsinki Summit of Heads of State or Government provided the impetus for a new and vital cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE. It was the first significant step towards this tangible and effective partnership in the maintenance of peace and security.

The Secretary-General in his report outlines how the framework for cooperation and coordination between the CSCE and the United Nations has led to regular contacts, exchange of information and burden-sharing. These developments provide the basis of a new partnership which is exemplary and which could inspire cooperation between the United Nations and other regional arrangements and organizations.

In a recent contribution to *The New York Times*, the Secretary-General dwelt on the peace-keeping role of regional organizations in an evolving international milieu. He stated that such groups provided special insights into conflict in their regions, could sometimes respond more quickly militarily and could help to ease the financial and material burdens placed on the United Nations.

The CSCE was born of diplomatic pragmatism, despite the difficulties imposed by bloc antagonism. That pragmatism continues to guide the CSCE in coming to grips with new challenges. The vision which inspired the Charter of Paris for a New Europe remains valid today, notwithstanding the regional conflicts which threaten stability within the CSCE area. For that vision to survive we must continue to develop the appropriate mechanisms to resist, contain and overcome the new, unfamiliar threats to peace. That is what is being done and undertaken at the review conference currently meeting in Budapest.

Many have described the review conference as the ultimate test of the CSCE as an actor in the region. The Code of Conduct currently being reviewed in Budapest is a singular strength of the CSCE. The presence of confidence- and security-building measures provides the assurance of transparency and trust crucial to the better understanding required in inter-State relations.

The mechanisms attached to such measures, and triggered by a number of States, is proof of the desire to promote and further develop transparency and trust between participating States. It also provides an opportunity for sharing experience and expertise between States.

The elaboration of confidence-building measures; the question of cooperation with the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping; the further elaboration of contacts with the non-participating Mediterranean States; these are all key issues to which my Government attaches great importance.

Successes registered by the CSCE in the field of preventive diplomacy in the period under review deserve to be highlighted. The work undertaken by the High Commissioner on National Minorities has served to ease tensions in a number of areas in Europe. It is proof of the CSCE's capability to ensure that shared and common values continue to be observed through conscious, active and preventive diplomacy.

Achievements in preventive diplomacy often go unsung. Low-profile involvement at an early stage of an emerging dispute or tension is often, unfortunately, ignored by the media. Preventive diplomacy should be a pillar of action in the attempt to achieve a stable and secure region. Recent cooperation between the United Nations, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and the Council of Europe provides a basis for future action which my delegation welcomes and supports. The setting of standards and norms in the human dimension remains a key strength of the CSCE.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights warns that disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind — a sad truth which most CSCE participating States have had the misfortune to experience in their histories. Such outrages are still witnessed today in conflict situations which undermine regional stability.

It is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law. That was the spirit which inspired the Charter of Paris and which nurtured the CSCE in Helsinki in facing the challenge of change. That same spirit remains constant today in Budapest. Peace is long-lasting only if built on freedom, social justice and respect for human dignity.

Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine) *(interpretation from Russian)*: In recent years Europe has been going through an important stage in its history, in which we have seen laid down the fundamental principles of interrelationships which will determine the life and face of the continent for many decades.

The Helsinki process has had tremendous impact on these changes and is today one of the most important guarantors of democratic transformations in a number of new independent States. A sound and multifaceted basis provided by the fundamental principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), its considerable potential as an instrument for preventive diplomacy, the devising under its aegis of new effective institutions and machinery, all bear witness to the vitality and importance of the CSCE and its practical impact on the development of European countries, ensuring stability and security in Europe.

Prince Sisowath Sirirath (Cambodia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

At the same time, the encouraging changes and historical events which are occurring in the world today as a result of the tremendous efforts made in the selfless struggle of peoples also reflect today's complexity and ambiguity, including the fact that in Europe in recent years a number of hotbeds of tension have arisen, some of which have grown into bloody conflicts. These new dangers, these new problems, which have appeared on the continent imperil stability and the possibility of steady development for States throughout the world.

We have witnessed gross violations of such fundamental principles of the CSCE as respect for the territorial integrity of States, the inviolability of their borders, the provision and observance of human rights, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. These facts quite clearly indicate that there is a need to strengthen considerably the CSCE, to enhance its ability to react adequately to the processes going on in Europe.

Ukraine, whose security is indivisible from the security of Europe, is deeply concerned to enhance the effectiveness of what is being done by the CSCE by way of speedy settlement of conflicts, particularly in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, around Nagorny Karabakh, in Georgia, and stabilizing the situation in the Transnistria region in the Republic of Moldova.

But, as practice has shown, turning the CSCE into a truly reliable institution able to resolve these conflicts will not occur sufficiently quickly, and at the current stage of its development the CSCE simply does not have enough potential nor sufficiently reliable machinery and procedures.

This indicates once again that the creation of a comprehensive security system in Europe is impossible without the active role and participation of such an influential and authoritative Organization as the United Nations, which possesses the necessary resources and experience in the prevention and settlement of conflicts. It is precisely for that reason that Ukraine has consistently favoured expanding cooperation in the field of security between the United Nations and the CSCE, which is a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the Charter. That is also necessary because there is a general understanding now that the secure and safe development of the entire world community is directly connected with ensuring stability on the European continent.

An important step towards strengthening cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE was, in the eyes of Ukraine, the signing, on 26 May 1993, of the framework agreement for cooperation and coordination between the United Nations Secretariat and the CSCE, as well as the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 16 November 1993, during the forty-eighth session, on "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe". Those documents laid the foundation for the initiation of cooperation.

However, many questions still need to be further explored. In view of the practical problems that the United Nations and the CSCE have to face, it is essential that we fully develop the potential of this agreement, as envisaged in the decisions reached at the Rome meeting of the Council of Ministers of the CSCE. We believe that effective machinery should be devised to coordinate the activities of these international structures and that we should clearly circumscribe their spheres of responsibility in order to avoid any unnecessary duplication and overlapping. This is based on our understanding that the CSCE itself, in the framework of its joint activities with the United Nations in the field of European security, could serve as an extremely reliable institution for preventive diplomacy, whereas the experience and the potential of the United Nations could help to supplement the peace-keeping capabilities of the CSCE in instances when a conflict had already arisen.

The delegation of Ukraine stands fully behind the conclusion reached in the report of the Secretary-General that

"1994 has seen further development of the practical links between the United Nations and CSCE". (A/49/529, para. 13)

We have indeed witnessed a growing interaction between these two structures — for example, in Georgia, in the former Yugoslavia and in Latvia, in the carrying out of individual programmes. In addition, the practice has been introduced of holding unofficial tripartite consultations between United Nations bodies based in Geneva, the CSCE and the Council of Europe.

We support the joint proposal of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Germany and the Netherlands to further develop cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE, and we believe that this will be possible only if the institutional basis of that cooperation is duly strengthened.

In this connection, the delegation of Ukraine proposes that an open-ended ad hoc working group be created. This group would necessarily include representatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations — from, for example, the Department of Political Affairs and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights — as well as representatives of the troika. It would draw up the text of a fundamental agreement between the United Nations and the CSCE that could become a model in various areas.

It should also be pointed out that cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE in settling conflicts should in no way detract from the importance of involving other European and trans-Atlantic institutions in these efforts, and particularly those that are able to make a sizeable contribution to maintaining peace. I refer above all to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, the European Union, the Western European Union and the Council of Europe. Uniting the efforts of these organizations and structures could serve as the foundation for a new system of security in Europe, which in turn would have an extremely positive effect on the safe development of the entire global society, and, first and foremost, of the European continent.

Today, Ukraine, like the other States members of the Helsinki process, is preparing for the next stage of the high-level Budapest Conference of the CSCE. We believe that this summit, like the Conference in Budapest itself, will represent a further major step towards the development of a partnership strategy between the United Nations and the CSCE and towards the creation, in practical terms, of the necessary machinery for cooperation in order fully to guarantee the stable and peaceful development of all States of the continent.

The delegation of Ukraine hopes that the draft resolution that has been submitted under this agenda item will be adopted by consensus.

Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union and Austria.

This is the third session at which the General Assembly has addressed the question of cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The European Union welcomes the opportunity to participate in this debate. It fully supports the draft resolution before the General Assembly, which is sponsored by all the European Union member States and the acceding countries.

I should like to take this opportunity to welcome the Secretary General of the CSCE, Mr. Wilhelm Höynck. His presence testifies to the commitment that exists on both sides to develop and improve cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE.

It has become somewhat of a cliché to speak of the challenges of the post-cold-war era. Unfortunately, international and intra-State conflicts, nationalism, racism and similar phenomena are part of the reality which the United Nations and the CSCE must continue to address. Both have had to make adaptations to meet these challenges.

At the Helsinki Summit of 1992, the CSCE participating States first declared their understanding that the CSCE is a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. In its resolution 47/10 of 28 October 1992, the General Assembly welcomed this declaration. The Helsinki Summit marked a turning point. Since then, the CSCE has steadily developed its capacity for taking effective action.

During the past few years, the CSCE has dispatched a large number of missions to various participating countries. Currently, six long-term missions are operative, and another two are about to begin their work. Some of these missions have tasks in the field of conflict prevention, while others deal with crisis management. Yet another category has long-term advisory functions. In addition to those missions, seven specialized missions are assisting States neighbouring the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in the rigorous enforcement of sanctions.

This range of mission tasks, in conjunction with the important activities of the High Commissioner for National Minorities, illustrates the comprehensive concept of security upon which the CSCE is founded.

The United Nations, in turn, has become increasingly active in the area of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Since 1992, the United Nations has played a crucial role in the former Yugoslavia, most visibly through the deployment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The Secretary-General has made his good offices available to the Baltic States and the Russian Federation. A few months ago, the Security Council decided to expand the military observer mission in Georgia (UNOMIG). More recently, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy has stepped up his efforts to contribute to a settlement of the conflict in Tajikistan.

In all of the foregoing cases, United Nations and CSCE personnel have worked side by side. This fact alone

underscores the importance of close contacts between the United Nations and the CSCE.

It is against that background that the European Union welcomes the positive developments described in the Secretary-General's report of 17 October on cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The European Union is pleased that the framework agreement of 26 May 1993 has proved to be a sound basis for cooperation. It fully subscribes to the view expressed in the Secretary-General's report that it must be our goal to

"make the best use of respective comparative advantages and avoid costly duplication". (A/49/529, para. 11)

There is more than enough work to go around.

We note that the number of meetings between the United Nations and the representatives of the CSCE has increased dramatically, both in the field and at Headquarters. We are particularly pleased with the ongoing discussions in Geneva on human rights, minority issues, the situation of refugees and economic problems.

In keeping with the draft resolution before the General Assembly, the European Union believes that the Secretary-General should explore possibilities for further improvements, in cooperation with the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE. We support the use of the United Nations presence in Vienna to provide for an additional and regular flow of information between the United Nations and the CSCE.

The CSCE's evolving capabilities will, in our opinion, be an important factor in considering adjustments in cooperation. In this context, the European Union looks forward to the Budapest Summit of the CSCE in early December this year. We consider the Summit to be an important opportunity to enhance further the CSCE's capacity as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. In particular, the European Union has proposed the strengthening of the CSCE as an instrument of first choice for conflict prevention and crisis management, including peace-keeping. Our approach calls for participating States to make every effort to achieve the peaceful settlement of local disputes by turning first to the CSCE, before turning to the Security Council of the United Nations. If the CSCE means are exhausted, the participating States should be able jointly to refer the matter to the Security Council. If necessary, participating States should be in a position to go ahead without the consent of the States involved. CSCE participating States will, of course, retain the right set out in the United Nations Charter to take a dispute to the Security Council at any stage.

The European Union strongly supports the efforts of the Minsk Group, under its Swedish Chairman, to achieve a peaceful solution of the conflict in and around Nagorny-Karabakh. The European Union is pleased that this view is also reflected in the draft resolution before the Assembly, in which, at the same time, the Assembly welcomes the long-standing cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE on this issue. The CSCE has been actively considering the possibility of deploying a peace-keeping force to the Nagorny-Karabakh area. The Budapest Summit, in our view, presents an opportunity for progress in resolving this conflict.

There is no doubt that stability within the CSCE area depends to a large extent on close and effective cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE. Such stability has positive repercussions for international peace and security beyond the CSCE area. The European Union therefore welcomes today's debate and looks forward to further consideration of this item in the future.

Programme of Work

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Assembly that we shall take up agenda item 30, "Zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic", at a date to be announced in the *Journal* and not tomorrow as initially planned.

I should also like to inform the Assembly that we shall take up agenda item 23, "International assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Nicaragua: aftermath of the war and natural disasters", on Thursday, 17 November, in the morning, as the first item, and not on Wednesday, 16 November.

Agenda item 27 (continued)

Cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

(a) Report of the Secretary-General (A/49/529)

(b) Draft resolution (A/49/L.20)

Mr. Náthon (Hungary): Hungary welcomes the consideration of this agenda item by the General Assembly, since in recent years it has undoubtedly become clear that the cooperation developing between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is increasingly important and mutually advantageous.

The activities and achievements of the so-called Helsinki process, which has now spanned two decades, are well known and speak for themselves. We attach particular importance to the fact that during much of the cold-war period of ideological and military confrontation, the CSCE served as an invaluable, indeed crucial, forum for dialogue between East and West. It played an important role in opening up the closed societies of Eastern Europe and, ultimately, in eliminating the political and ideological division of Europe. Let me mention here two additional features of the CSCE that, in our view, make it unique. First, it is the only comprehensive all-European institution with security dimensions which includes every European country, the United States and Canada, as well as all the successor States of the former Soviet Union. Secondly, it has by now demonstrated a special capability to develop a particular set of norms, based on common European values, that represents general rules of behaviour for all Governments wishing to establish and maintain cooperative relationships.

Three weeks from now, Hungary will be hosting in Budapest the CSCE Summit, in which the Heads of State or Government of its member countries will participate. We will be particularly honoured also by the presence at the Summit of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Following the Summit, Hungary will assume the important and responsible duties of the CSCE Chairman-in-Office for a year. The Budapest Summit is expected to strengthen the indispensable role of the CSCE in the security of Europe and to give new impetus to its further development and refinement. The political declaration of the Summit will assess the political situation in the CSCE area, focusing primarily on the major hotbeds of tension and conflict. It should improve the implementation of CSCE commitments, in particular in the human dimension, enhance CSCE conflict prevention and crisis management capability, and strengthen CSCE institutions. The Summit Meeting should also strengthen the norm-setting role of the CSCE by adopting a code of conduct which would refer to the rules of inter-State relations, as well as to the rule of relations between the State and its citizens, with particular reference to human rights and minority rights.

I wish to emphasize that we attach particular importance to the realization of the "CSCE first" principle that was put forward some time ago by the Foreign Ministers of Germany and the Netherlands. The idea is simple — to establish a genuine and practical division of responsibilities between the CSCE and the United Nations in the settlement of conflicts within the CSCE area. We are of the view that the "CSCE first" principle, that is, to make every effort to achieve the pacific settlement of disputes through the existing conflict-management mechanisms of the CSCE before referring them to the United Nations Security Council, is completely in line with the objectives of the Charter, as well as with its relevant provisions.

Recently, cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations has become a tangible reality in relation to many trouble spots. The situations in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijan Republic, Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the Republic of Georgia, Tajikistan and Moldova, provide specific examples to this effect. We deem it important that peace-keeping activities in the territory of the former Soviet Union should be conducted fully in line with the principles of the CSCE and under CSCE command.

In the case of the former Yugoslavia, the CSCE missions of long duration in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina were concrete and promising manifestations of preventive diplomacy undertaken by the CSCE until the regrettable refusal by the Belgrade authorities to extend their mandates. We call for the early and unconditional return of those missions, in accordance with Security Council resolution 855 (1993), and deem it extremely important that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) implement that resolution without any further delay. We welcome the fact

that recently the CSCE opened a mission in Sarajevo and is now in the process of appointing three ombudsmen for the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We also believe that the CSCE is to be commended for its reiterated readiness to contribute to a post-conflict process of reconciliation, rehabilitation and rebuilding of democratic institutions, as well as to regional security through various arms control, disarmament and confidence- and security-building measures.

The framework agreement of 26 May 1993 proved to be a major step in further enhancing cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and the CSCE. During our chairmanship-in-office, we intend to promote this very promising collaboration between the two organizations on every level and by all possible means available. I can assure the Assembly that the Hungarian Mission in New York will do its best to serve as a clearing-house and a genuine point of liaison to this effect. In this regard, I should like to pay tribute here to Mr. Francesco Paolo Fulci, Permanent Representative of Italy, representing the present Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE, for his untiring efforts and able leadership.

As a member of the CSCE Troika, Hungary has set a high value on preparing and submitting to the General Assembly a substantial draft resolution on cooperation between the two organizations. We feel the present text corresponds to this requirement and we express the hope that the General Assembly will adopt it without a vote.

Mr. Kulla (Albania) *(interpretation from French):* The installation of democracy in many countries of the world has provided fresh prospects for nations in their efforts to build the future. Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly clear that many of the old and new challenges that face us can be tackled properly only by joint efforts to safeguard peace and security, to establish the rule of law and to protect human rights. It would be appropriate to recall here that regional organizations have played an important role in meeting those challenges. They represent important instruments to safeguard peace, to expand cooperation and to assure a relationship between both regional and global security.

From this viewpoint, Albania highly appreciates the role that has been played by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in the field of security, cooperation and promoting democracy and the respect for human rights throughout the European Atlantic region. Its efforts to prevent or resolve regional crises, the use of instruments for the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for human rights, as well as increasing economic cooperation among its members, represent irreplaceable contributions to the benefit of all its members, particularly the new democracies, in helping them to safeguard peace and to consolidate democratic institutions.

At the Helsinki Summit in July 1992, the Heads of State or Government of the countries members of the CSCE stated their resolve to work closely with the United Nations, and particularly to prevent and to resolve conflicts. Likewise, the Final Document of that Conference states that the CSCE is a regional arrangement within the framework of the United Nations, in accordance with the definition contained in Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. The purpose of the CSCE and the fundamental documents on which it is based and the concern with and the common responsibility for safeguarding international peace make it clear and necessary that there must be close cooperation in dealing with and resolving questions relating to fundamental problems affecting current international relations. The CSCE review conference, which has begun work in Budapest, will also be expressing CSCE views on this matter, and we affirm our confidence that the December Summit will arrive at a common position on the need to strengthen cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations.

We believe that substantive cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations is of particular importance, especially with respect to safeguarding peace and security in certain regions of the CSCE area. We believe that the possibilities for peace-keeping and peacemaking can be coordinated with the operational capacities of the CSCE in the field of prevention. "Early warning", as well as "quick reaction" are both important elements that are inherent in the preventive capabilities of the CSCE, which have been more than once effectively demonstrated. Likewise, and at the same time, the wealth of experience that the CSCE has acquired through the good offices missions for the peaceful resolution of disputes could well be effectively coordinated with similar actions taken by the United Nations. The case of the civilian mission to Haiti is a very pertinent example of practical cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements.

In this day and age better cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations has become necessary. Certain crises within the CSCE ambit, particularly the Yugoslav crisis, have shown that, despite total commitment, it seems impossible for such crises to be dealt with and resolved by the CSCE alone. The expulsion of the CSCE's

long-standing mission in Kosovo bears eloquent witness in this respect. The very serious and explosive situation in Kosovo, which is generally agreed to be in danger of deteriorating into an armed conflict, has been at the centre of the CSCE's attention in recent years. Albania welcomes the conclusion of the Ministerial Conference in Stockholm, wherein it is stated that "an international United Nations presence on the ground would be a positive step". We also welcome and hail the Security Council's commitment in this matter and its resolution 855 (1993), but we believe that even greater pressure should be brought to bear to enforce its practical implementation.

It is essential that ways and means be found to ensure the international presence of the United Nations in Kosovo, which would provide indisputable proof of the success of the policy of prevention. The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is, unfortunately, far from exemplary in the international community's experience in the field of peace-keeping, and we should learn a lesson from it. The slightest delay might have unforeseeable consequences for peace and security in Europe, and this would run counter to our theoretical deliberations seem irrelevant.

In this light, while welcoming the CSCE's involvement and commitment as an important forum for dealing with questions of peace and security in the region, we believe that closer cooperation should be implemented between the CSCE and the United Nations system — particularly with the Security Council, by means of periodic consultations and joint meetings between the Council and the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE, exchanges of reports on various problems and other forms of cooperation.

In view of the CSCE's decision-making machinery and the present difficulties in devising a suitable system for the implementation of its decisions, it is also important to establish close cooperation between the CSCE's preventive machinery and the Security Council, which is the sole institution that decides on and guarantees the implementation of binding measures. Such cooperation between the CSCE and the Security Council would make it possible for certain acute issues in the European-Atlantic region, such as the Kosovo crisis, not to remain simply matters to be noted but, rather, matters to be resolved in proper and timely fashion.

Mr. Salander (Sweden): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries — Denmark,

Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden — which are all participating States in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The CSCE was conceived in the cold war era and made an important contribution to bringing the East-West confrontation to a peaceful end.

The world is changing, and so is the CSCE. The emphasis of the CSCE's current activities is increasingly being focused on how to contribute to peaceful solutions of post-cold-war national and ethnic problems in the CSCE area. These days the participating States at the Budapest review conference are actively seeking to enhance the CSCE's capabilities for early warning, preventive diplomacy, crisis management, conflict resolution and peace-keeping. In this new situation, with the CSCE taking on an even more important role in conflict prevention and crisis management, enhanced cooperation and coordination with the United Nations is vital.

A framework agreement on cooperation and coordination between the CSCE and the United Nations was concluded in May 1993. One year ago the CSCE was granted the status of Observer in the General Assembly. The framework agreement has been a useful basis for increased contacts between the CSCE and the United Nations at all levels. In this context, we welcome the Secretary-General's report (A/49/529) of 17 October on cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE. In our view, the Secretary-General should now actively continue to explore with the CSCE Chairman-in-Office possibilities for further development of this cooperation. The Nordic countries are prepared to take part, at an appropriate time, in a process to explore ways and means for achieving a rational and balanced division of labour and responsibilities between the CSCE and the United Nations.

The United Nations has the overriding responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Regional arrangements, such as the CSCE, also have an important role in this regard, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. The comparative advantage of each of the institutions should be taken into account in addressing specific situations. The CSCE and the United Nations should mutually reinforce each other. The CSCE should develop its capabilities to become an instrument of first choice for addressing emerging tension and local disputes by making every effort to settle such disputes before referring them to the Security Council, as envisaged in the United Nations Charter. The CSCE has a special approach to conflict prevention. The CSCE participating States have assumed important commitments to comply with CSCE norms and standards. The CSCE's comprehensive concept of security stresses that conditions for human and minority rights in participating States have effects on the security of us all. There is also an element of accountability, which promotes transparency of conditions in this regard in participating States.

The CSCE promotes early warning, assumes an active role in preventive diplomacy and deploys long-term missions in order to assist in bridging communication gaps and easing mistrust and hostile attitudes. The Nordic countries firmly believe that the CSCE should continue to develop its specific characteristics at the ongoing Budapest conference.

An important aspect of CSCE activities in recent years has been the work of the long-term missions dispatched to various areas of tension, including the former Yugoslavia. In The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia the CSCE operates alongside the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in preventing conflict and alleviating tensions, thus providing a good example of CSCE-United Nations cooperation. As for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Nordic countries are of the opinion that the long-term missions to Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina must be allowed to return and resume operations as soon as possible.

The Nordic countries have consistently supported the CSCE and its Minsk Group in the efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the conflict in and around Nagorny Karabakh. We welcome the support for these efforts expressed in resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. We also appreciate the United Nations Secretariat's offer of technical assistance to a possible CSCE mission to the area. The recent visit to the region by the Secretary-General was important as a means of demonstrating the world community's concern over the situation.

The cease-fire that has been in effect in the region since 12 May is a tangible sign of the sincere desire of the parties for an end to the conflict. The silence of arms should be used urgently to find the basis for a durable political solution. The harmonization of all mediation efforts is of particular importance. Following a decision taken by the CSCE Committee of Senior Officials on 16 September, the CSCE Chairman-in-Office, assisted by the Chairman of the Minsk Group, is exploring the possibility of organizing a multinational CSCE peace-keeping force in support of the process towards peace. The Nordic countries fully support these efforts. Political guarantees, including those given by the United Nations, will undoubtedly be part of a wider political agreement.

The Nordic countries are convinced that there is great potential for the CSCE to further develop its role in conflict prevention, crisis management, peace-keeping and conflict resolution within its area, as foreseen in the United Nations Charter. We are also convinced that there is great potential for further cooperation and coordination with the United Nations in the sphere of safeguarding international peace and security. The Nordic countries will continue to support these efforts by the CSCE and the United Nations.

It is against that background that the Nordic countries have cosponsored the draft resolution before the Assembly. We hope that it will be adopted by consensus.

Mr. Jusys (Lithuania): I have the honour of making a statement on behalf of the Baltic States — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Last year the Baltic States — Estonia, Latvia and my own country, Lithuania — cosponsored the resolution inviting the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to participate, in the capacity of observer, in the sessions and work of the General Assembly. As a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, the CSCE provides an important link between European and global security.

The uncertainty posed by the end of cold-war alliances is alleviated to a degree by the principles and commitments on the basis of which the CSCE was established. These include respect for human rights, democracy, the rule of law and economic freedom as the foundations of peace, security and stability. While structural adjustment to new challenges and situations takes time, active diplomacy in concert with the United Nations is one way in which the competence of the CSCE, as well as regional stability, can be enhanced. Experience shows that these linkages and complementary efforts can be effective. The Helsinki process helped to set the stage for many of today's positive developments and trends in East-West relations in the fields of human rights, security, the environment, trade and economic development. Today we note with satisfaction the development of increased cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and the CSCE in fields including peacekeeping in the CSCE area. We welcome further improvements in the forging of this mutually reinforcing and beneficial relationship as an effective counter to serious threats to peace and security, particularly at a time when many countries in the CSCE area seek to enhance their individual security and to contribute to the collective security of the region.

We recognize that the CSCE can play a leading role in the strengthening of security and stability in Europe. But it cannot do this alone. Closer cooperation with the United Nations and other relevant organizations should go beyond information-sharing and extend to responsibility-sharing, with a clear-cut division of labour to avoid duplication or dissipation of resources. The CSCE's strengths in conflict prevention, management and resolution in the region arise from a comprehensive concept of security based on cooperation and equal respect for the security interests of all participating States. States with interests in the region could play a constructive mediation role in respect of those conflicts that they had the best chance of resolving, but should do so within prescribed guidelines that would prevent larger States from establishing dominance in a region or harming the interests of other States. Pragmatic cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE, making use of the two bodies' respective strengths, could result in the provision of the framework and the forum for concerted action in this regard.

The use of CSCE long-term missions and representatives as a part of preventive diplomacy promotes a non-confrontational approach to the solution of outstanding issues. The human-dimension mechanism strengthens considerably the CSCE's ability to address the root causes of tension and provides for early warning. We also recognize that economic development and cooperation are an important component of the CSCE's comprehensive concept of security. The economic dimension is essential to the strengthening of stability in the CSCE area. Complementary efforts in the pursuit of sustainable economic development can and should be another aspect of coordination between the United Nations and the CSCE.

The Baltic States view the process of European integration and multilateral cooperation as a basic prerequisite for the achievement of European stability. The Baltic States have made their own active contribution to the process through increased cooperation within the Baltic Council of Ministers and coordination with the Cooperation Council of the Baltic Sea States and other regional partners, including the Nordic Council.

The Baltic States have also been beneficiaries of CSCE and United Nations preventive diplomacy. The withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania by 31 August 1993 and from Estonia and Latvia by 31 August 1994 was a commitment undertaken under paragraph 15 of the 1992 Helsinki Summit Declaration and General Assembly resolutions 47/21 and 48/18. We note with satisfaction the political significance of the withdrawal, the turning-point that this process marked, and the CSCE's continued readiness to provide assistance in the resolution of outstanding issues.

We wish the forthcoming Budapest Summit every success in elaborating the ways and means of linking the CSCE's preventive-diplomacy and crisis-management activities with those of the United Nations.

Mr. Batu (Turkey): As a participating State of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Turkey is particularly pleased that the General Assembly is once again considering, under agenda item 27, the important and timely issue of cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE.

In this respect, we thank the Secretary-General for his most valuable report on the item, and we reiterate our firm support for his efforts to foster the institutionalization of the cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE.

We should also like to express our gratitude to the members of the CSCE troika — Hungary, Italy and Sweden — for the efforts that they put into the drafting of the resolution that is before us today. We actively participated in the informal consultations on the draft resolution and joined other delegations as sponsors.

With the advent of the post-cold-war era, new regional approaches for preventing and dealing with conflicts around the world have been set in motion. However, developments in the CSCE area continue to lead us to a rather pessimistic overall assessment. Security and stability are being threatened by continuing and new armed conflicts. Renewed aggression and territorial acquisition by force are increasingly being resorted to with impunity.

Although significant steps have been taken by the CSCE towards further strengthening its structure and

mechanisms, we are still far from dealing adequately with these grave violations of international law. Even though there has been ample creative thinking, the international community has been unable so far to establish a new and clear strategy to deal with these conflicts in an effective and lasting manner.

The challenges we are facing today are far greater than the means and resources by which the United Nations alone can respond effectively and adequately to the ever-growing urgency of maintaining peace and security around the globe. In this regard, we believe there is great potential for further strengthened cooperation between our two organizations within the framework of the United Nations Charter and the fundamental CSCE documents. We would like to emphasize in particular the 1992 Helsinki final Document and the decisions of the Rome meeting of the CSCE Council, where, among other things, principles and procedures for CSCE peace-keeping activities were established.

We see the prospects for peace-keeping activities by the CSCE in its area of responsibility as a step in the right direction: that of taking over responsibility in this field from the over-stretched United Nations. Nevertheless, we believe that as participating States we have not yet been able firmly to demonstrate our political will to implement many of our decisions to that effect. Our efforts have largely remained limited to small-scale activities in the area of preventive diplomacy.

However, most recently we have taken note with renewed hope of encouraging developments with regard to the peace-keeping aspects of the CSCE. A case in point is the conflict in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic. As members well know, the CSCE's Minsk Group has been striving to achieve a solution to this problem for the past two years. As a member of that Group from its inception, we have been actively participating in its efforts. We continue to believe that the CSCE in general and the Minsk Group in particular continue to be an appropriate mechanism through which an acceptable and workable solution can be brought about. In this respect, we welcome the most recent reaffirmation by the parties to the conflict of their desire to act in this direction.

After a long and difficult process of negotiations, CSCE efforts have finally focused on the modalities of a CSCE peace-keeping operation to be deployed to the area of conflict in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan. We believe we are on the threshold of a major development with regard to the role to be played by the CSCE as a regional organization acting within the framework of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. By setting a precedent in the peace-keeping activities of the CSCE, the deployment of a CSCE peace-keeping force will, in our view, be a crucial test for the participating States, by which they can reaffirm their will to give a new impetus to their common endeavour.

We welcome the General Assembly's full support, as reiterated in the draft resolution before us, for the efforts of the CSCE to achieve a peaceful solution to this conflict, based on the principle of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

Valuable cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE had taken place in some parts of the former Yugoslavia until the Belgrade authorities refused to extend the mandate of the long-term CSCE missions there. We regret that the call by the international community, as set out in Security Council resolution 855 (1993), for the return of CSCE missions at the earliest possible time has remained unanswered by the Serbian authorities. Consequently, we welcome the fact that the draft resolution before us reiterates the significant contribution that the CSCE missions have made to the maintenance of stability in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina. We consider the reference made in the draft resolution before us to Security Council resolution 855 (1993) to be renewed testimony by the States Members of the United Nations of their support for the continuation of the CSCE missions in the former Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, let me reiterate our firm belief that the activities of the United Nations and those of the CSCE are mutually reinforcing and complementary in nature. We therefore reckon that the United Nations continues to play the central role in the maintenance of peace and security around the world. Thus, the scope of the cooperation between the two organizations should, in our view, entail not a devolution of authority but, rather, a division of labour which could culminate in a new collective-security architecture in the future. In this respect, we look forward to the successful conclusion of the Budapest Summit of the CSCE.

Mr. Türk (Slovenia): This year the General Assembly is discussing the cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) at a particularly important juncture. The report by the Secretary-General on this matter reflects the diversity and political importance of the cooperation developed thus far. The United Nations and the CSCE have established a formal framework of cooperation which provides an opportunity for permanent communication and timely coordination of action. Furthermore, the United Nations and the CSCE have agreed on the division of labour with respect to a variety of situations in the CSCE area involving political tensions or the use of force. In situations requiring peacemaking efforts the United Nations has retained its lead role, while in others the leading role has been assumed by the CSCE. It is expected that the future development of this cooperation will strengthen the role of the CSCE as a mechanism capable of responding to any need at the earliest stage, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

The development of practical links, both institutional and situation-specific, promises that the best possible use of resources will be made. The Governments which make these resources available can expect that the two organizations, the global one and the regional one, will act together in an effective manner.

The next meeting of Heads of State or Government of the participating States of the CSCE will take place in three weeks in Budapest. This and the results of United Nations-CSCE cooperation so far represent a valid reason for thorough reflection by the General Assembly on the present and future role of the CSCE in global efforts for peace, security and political stability.

Slovenia believes that the CSCE has an important contribution to make, bearing in mind in particular the specific character of the current processes of transformation in Europe.

It has to be emphasized that the dynamic processes of democratic change and integration in Europe are that region's basic feature, and these processes owe a large part of their vitality to the ideas enshrined in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), adopted in Helsinki as long ago as 1975. The principles adopted in Helsinki enabled Europe to proceed on the democratic path of transformation and integration and continue to represent the basis of democratic development in the future. They also represent the conceptual basis for the construction of appropriate security structures in Europe and for the expansion of the links between the CSCE and the United Nations. It should be noted that the Helsinki principles were strongly inspired by the United Nations Charter and its living interpretation as developed within the United Nations.

However, the processes launched by the CSCE have been and continue to be confronted by occurrences of the use of force and jeopardized by those who rely on the use of force as a means to pursue their political agendas. Seen in retrospect, it is clear that none of the international institutions, including the CSCE, was prepared for such situations, and they were therefore unable to prevent their occurrence. The international institutions remained a step behind and reacted *post festum*, often half-heartedly and without success.

The importance of the CSCE as a framework for peaceful change has not been extinguished as a result of such problems. On the contrary, the CSCE should now develop appropriate methods for handling political tensions and crisis situations. Moreover, the CSCE ought to pay particular attention to strengthening its capacity for preventive action. In addition to the generally relevant considerations that make the preventive role of regional organizations its primary purpose, it is important to emphasize the specific reasons that call for giving priority to the CSCE's mechanisms in the field of preventive action. We should bear in mind a variety of political issues that merit early warning and preventive action, including the fact that Europe has witnessed a recurrence of nearly forgotten forms of nationalistic chauvinism. These phenomena are in sharp contradiction to the ideal of a cooperating and multicultural Europe and to its actual efforts for greater integration. The CSCE should develop appropriate methods to deal with these problems.

Another particular need to develop the capacities for preventive diplomacy results from recent experience with the United Nations peace-keeping activities in the area of the CSCE. This experience has shown that peace-keeping is usually carried out with a lapse of time, which makes the task of peace-keeping operations very difficult, irrespective of the flexibility or extensiveness of the definition of peace-keeping in general or of the level of refinement of the mandate of a particular operation.

Slovenia welcomes the achievements of the CSCE in the field of military security. The existing and future regional arms-control arrangements will be an important guarantee of security in the whole region. As in other domains, here too the experience gained in the United Nations represents an important asset for the future actions of the CSCE. The principles and guidelines for regional approaches to disarmament within the context of global security adopted last year by the Disarmament Commission are particularly important. In addition to the fact that the CSCE as a whole represents a *sui generis* regional arrangement and will therefore draw its inspiration from the mentioned guidelines, the CSCE participating States will have to develop a variety of subregional approaches, in accordance with the specific circumstances of various groups of States. In this context, such principles as the free consent of States in defining the geographical area of application of appropriate arrangements will be particularly important.

The mutual benefits of coordination and cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE are not limited to situations involving preventive or peace-keeping activity or to arms control and confidence- and security-building regimes. They encompass such areas as the protection of human rights, the protection of national minorities, election monitoring, support for democratic change within States, and so on. All these efforts represent an ambitious agenda that is worthy of serious efforts. Slovenia supports this endeavour and will continue to take part in it. Slovenia is among the sponsors of the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly for adoption, and we hope that it will be adopted without a vote.

Mr. Pashovski (Bulgaria): Allow me to begin by joining in the welcome extended to the Secretary-General of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Mr. Wilhelm Höynck, whose presence and expected contribution to our debate attest to the commitment of the CSCE to strengthening cooperation with the United Nations, as well as to his personal dedication to this post.

It is with outstanding satisfaction and a sense of responsibility that I take the floor on this topic, which my country regards as most important for the present and future efforts of the international community to safeguard and promote peace, security and stability. I am pleased, first, because one cannot help but note positively the significant progress made in the short period of a little over two years in the cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

It was only at its Helsinki 1992 Summit that the CSCE declared its readiness to assume enhanced responsibilities in the areas of peace and security as a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Since then we have witnessed the establishment of a sound and forward-looking institutional basis for the joint efforts of the two organizations. We are

proud to recall that Bulgaria was among the initiators and promoters of this process.

Mr. Mwaungulu (Malawi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

As I mentioned, much was done to launch and enhance the interaction of the two organizations. Let me just point out as examples the closer involvement of the CSCE in the work of the United Nations as an Observer in the General Assembly, the adoption of the framework for cooperation and coordination of 26 May 1993 and the ensuing practical steps in a number of important areas of conflict prevention and crisis management in the CSCE area.

Good contacts have been established and maintained on a regular basis between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE. The United Nations Secretary-General is regularly represented at meetings of relevant CSCE bodies. In this respect we welcome the forthcoming visit of the Secretary-General to Budapest, where he will attend and address the meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the CSCE participating States.

There is a need for a better division of labour and an improved harnessing of resources between the two organizations, and this has taken a practical dimension in peacemaking efforts in such troubled areas as Tajikistan, Georgia, the Nagorny-Karabakh conflict and others. As a country directly concerned about the maintenance of peace and stability in the Balkan region, we especially welcome the continued close cooperation between the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the CSCE mission in Macedonia, as well as the support extended by the United Nations to the newly established mission of the CSCE in Sarajevo.

The experience gained in this process and the everincreasing need for a more systematic approach to the cooperation of the United Nations with regional organizations have led to substantial achievements in the efforts to ensure wider contacts and exchanges among them. In this connection, we share the opinion that the meeting of regional organizations convened by the Secretary-General in New York on 1 August 1994 provided a valuable opportunity to understand better and address the problems and challenges facing the international community today.

In its capacity as the recent Chairman of the Council of Europe, my country actively joined in the common task

of enhancing cooperation between the United Nations, the CSCE and the Council of Europe. We welcome the establishment of the practice of tripartite consultations among them as an opportunity to discuss ways and means for further developing the process by making better use of respective comparative advantages, in particular with regard to fact-finding and other missions.

All of the aforementioned developments have undoubtedly played an important role in the improvement of our capacity to forestall, prevent and manage crises threatening international peace and stability. My country therefore continues to be active in the ongoing efforts, in the framework of the CSCE and through dialogue between the two organizations, to expand further this capacity.

Bulgaria supports the idea that the CSCE should shoulder its full responsibilities as a regional arrangement in the field of security in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter — that is, as an instrument of first resort for conflict prevention and crisis management in its area. We think that the CSCE is an appropriate body to play such a role in view of its comprehensive regional scope, embracing almost all the States in the wider Euro-Atlantic-Asiatic zone and of its nature as a forum whose functions reflect the interrelation of global and regional security. This is a question that occupies a central place on the agenda of the forthcoming Budapest Conference of the CSCE.

The underlying issue, the issue of primary importance, in this regard is the need for the better distribution and coordination of labour, and for avoiding unnecessary duplication of activities between the two organizations. It is a process that has to be broadened in the priority areas of their practical interaction, such as preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and respect for human rights. The CSCE could be an especially beneficial instrument in the forestalling of conflict, the addressing of the root inner causes of crises, the long-term management of critical situations, and the post-conflict building of a democratic order through peaceful means. Furthermore, the CSCE is currently considering possibilities for its first peace-keeping operation, in Nagorny Karabakh.

At the same time, we support the view that the CSCE should not be assigned tasks and responsibilities which are currently within the exclusive competence of the United Nations Security Council, such as peace-enforcement operations. The primary responsibility

for the maintenance of international peace and security continues to be concentrated in the Security Council.

Another facet that merits special attention with regard to the furthering of coordination between the United Nations and the CSCE is the series of new initiatives for wider cooperation in the field of the human dimension as one of the basic aspects of preventive diplomacy. In this respect the sharing of information, such as reports of the CSCE missions, could be particularly beneficial to the work of the United Nations. We welcome the forms of cooperation and exchanges of information and expertise already established between the CSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw and some specialized bodies of the United Nations, such as the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva. This process should be maintained and pursued further.

Allow me in conclusion to express my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts to promote cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, to the benefit of world peace and stability. We would also like to thank him for his report on the relations between the United Nations and the CSCE, presented as a contribution to our discussion today. It is in the desire to assist in this important process that my country joined in the preparation of the draft resolution before us, of which we are a sponsor.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): Poland, as a sponsor of resolution 48/19 of 16 November 1993, is satisfied with the substance and pace of the process of developing cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). An accurate account of this process, as seen by the United Nations, is contained in the Secretary-General's report, which the Polish delegation welcomes. We note with satisfaction the progress made in the debate on possible forms of cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE. It should eventually lead to the establishment of a pragmatic cooperation pattern, both at the general level and in the field. Such two-fold cooperation is necessary for both organizations concerned. We should strive for complementarity in their activities and to avoid duplication of efforts and possible rivalry of any kind.

The United Nations has to recognize the CSCE's potential as a regional arrangement facing complex challenges in a very sensitive part of the world. It offers useful instruments for conflict prevention, crisis management and conflict resolution. The United Nations

can only benefit from the CSCE experience in dealing with the root causes of conflicts and its active involvement in shaping the post-cold-war pattern of European relations.

We have to be aware, however, of limitations which CSCE activities may still be encountering at present. Those limitations do not preclude, however, the option of close cooperation in fulfilling specific peace-keeping responsibilities, in the first instance in the troubled States of the Commonwealth of Independent States and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Quite to the contrary, they call for mutually reinforcing efforts based on a clear division of tasks and smooth day-to-day collaboration between the United Nations and CSCE missions in the field.

Poland supports all practical forms of cooperation between the two organizations in question. Such cooperation should include the conclusion of appropriate agreements, the institutionalized exchange of information, liaison offices and cost sharing. The CSCE should be seen as a flexible framework for the consideration of all problems related to all-European security. It may resolve some of them on its own, request assistance of partner organizations in resolving others and, where it lacks appropriate means, such as in peace enforcement, refer the question to the United Nations Security Council, as proposed by Foreign Minister Kinkel of Germany and the former Foreign Minister Kooijmans of the Netherlands.

The readiness of the United Nations to engage in such pragmatic cooperation and to consider certain issues at the request of the CSCE should constitute the essence of our message to the CSCE Summit to be held next month in Budapest.

Last but not least, there should be growing cooperation between the executive branches of the two organizations, for example, between the United Nations Secretary-General and his high-level representatives and the CSCE Chairman-in-Office and its Secretary-General.

Mr. Gorita (Romania): The agenda item "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" offers this session good cause for satisfaction. The Secretary-General's report (A/49/529), dated 17 October 1994, is an illustrative expression of the mutually beneficial and reinforcing developments in this relationship.

The observer status granted to the CSCE pursuant to United Nations General Assembly resolution 48/5 of 22 October 1993, and the framework for cooperation and coordination between the two organizations, established on 26 of May 1993 following an exchange of letters between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman-in-Office of the Council of CSCE (A/48/185), now provide the institutional parameters for cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE. Regular contacts established between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the CSCE, and their representatives, are maintained and developed.

As the Secretary-General's report shows, we are witnessing an increasing CSCE contribution to the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security in the CSCE region through its activities in the area of preventive diplomacy, crisis management, arms control and disarmament, post-crisis stabilizing and rehabilitation measures, as well as its role in the human dimension.

The CSCE is a pan-European forum which, alongside the other European and Euro-Atlantic organizations and institutions, plays a significant role in promoting security and stability throughout the continent.

This is a period of change and rapid developments. We are supportive of the CSCE in its efforts to define more accurately its identity, place, and specific role in the European framework. In this context, the progressive adaptation and redefinition of CSCE functions and activities, with a constant eye to efficiency and credibility, is a crucial test for the development of the CSCE process. In our view, preventive diplomacy and crisis management are essential elements in shaping the future role of the CSCE. The "Helsinki decalogue", the principles well established in this framework, and the functioning democratic norms like the rule of consensus and the principle of rotation, are in place to support such an important endeavour. We are still in the process of making full use of the responsibilities and functions of existing CSCE institutions and mechanisms. In our view, further additions to such organs are not necessary for the time being.

In the CSCE framework, we are now called upon to maximize our use of the available potential in the existing structures: the chairmanship-in-office, the High Commissioner on National Minorities, the Secretary-General, and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. The forthcoming Budapest CSCE Summit will offer a timely opportunity for a fresh, constructive and far-reaching look at these issues. We are very appreciative of the fact that the United Nations Secretariat is closely following the preparatory process of the Summit, and we are looking forward to the personal participation of the Secretary General of the United Nations at this important event. We are aware of United Nations expectations regarding the CSCE and its Member States.

It is necessary, legitimate and particularly useful to focus on regional problems and approaches. However, we must constantly consider the multilateral context, the global issues and perspectives. The best way to do so is to maintain a cooperative attitude on the part of the CSCE and its member States *vis-à-vis* the United Nations and other multilateral forums. In the words of Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali on the occasion of his recent official visit to Romania,

"The international community will be unable to rise to the great challenges of our times unless it establishes rules for handling the key issues, and ensures that these rules — rules for peace, development and democracy — are made to prevail." (*SG/SM/5455, 27 October 1994, p. 2*)

By its very nature, the CSCE is a cooperative, rather than a collective, security forum. It has a special mandate and way of action. The CSCE is not conceived to provide collective defence and cannot therefore offer its members the active security guarantees of an alliance. Instead, it devotes its energies to preventing conflicts, to assisting participating States in fulfilling the obligations they have assumed by agreeing to CSCE decisions, to finding the common ground on which Member States which have disagreements can move to a position of negotiation rather than confrontation.

One of the most important directions for United Nations-CSCE cooperation relates to the progress made in the development and consolidation of contacts and interaction with regard to the activities of CSCE missions in the field. In its own quiet way, the CSCE has been quite successful in its insistence on the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from the Baltic republics. The CSCE is instrumental in monitoring the situation in parts of the former Yugoslavia to prevent a spillover of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina to other areas, in its attempts, particularly through the Minsk Group, at ending the crisis in Nagorny Karabakh, in the almost non-stop shuttle diplomacy of the High Commissioner on National Minorities. As for the CSCE mission in the Republic of Moldova, a more active involvement in the implementation of its mandate would be conducive to the development of a democratic State, respect for human rights, support for economic and democratic reforms on the entire territory of the country, the orderly, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the 14th army from Transnistria.

An important new development in the CSCE context relates to the proposal to use the peace-keeping forces offered by third parties in the CSCE area. The preparatory work for the Budapest Summit seems to indicate the appropriate approach towards this sensitive issue, namely, the establishment and operation of such forces only under the full authority of the CSCE, with a clear mandate and with the agreement of the receiving State. This would also imply support for the political settlement process based on United Nations and CSCE principles and objectives. The establishment of CSCE missions for monitoring such forces, as well as immediate and complete withdrawal after the settlement of the conflict, would help to complete this approach. As for peace-enforcement, undoubtedly, it remains the exclusive responsibility of the United Nations Security Council, in the framework of the collective security system, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

It would be mutually beneficial if the United Nations political, military and logistic peace-keeping capabilities and experience were to be taken into consideration when matters pertaining to this domain are considered in the framework of the CSCE. Active United Nations-CSCE interaction in this area would be most welcome.

Finally, I should like to stress how important it is to place the CSCE process in the evolving framework of European architecture as well as in the global context of the United Nations collective security system. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) "Partnership for Peace", the Western European Union (WEU) associated status, the Pact on Stability in Europe are but some of the recent very important and promising initiatives addressed especially to Central and Eastern Europe. They entail potentially positive dynamics for the European continent and the CSCE area and for international stability and security. Careful consideration and implementation of a strategy containing a flexible and coherent approach to the relationship between partners such as NATO, the European Union, the WEU, the CSCE and the United Nations, in accordance with their specific responsibilities, powers and methods of action, is of vital importance for defining a comprehensive Euro-Atlantic security system.

The draft resolution in document A/49/L.20, entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe", contains important ingredients for assessing and further promoting the necessary United Nations-CSCE interaction under the provisions of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. My delegation is a sponsor of the draft resolution and expresses the hope that it will be adopted by consensus.

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 48/5 of 13 October 1993, I now call on Mr. Wilhelm Höynck, Secretary General of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Mr. Höynck (Secretary General of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)): It is indeed a great pleasure for the Secretary General of the CSCE to have been invited by the Italian chairmanship of the CSCE to address the United Nations General Assembly. It is becoming a tradition that this, the most comprehensive body of the United Nations, allocates time for discussion of the cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I am grateful for the many encouraging remarks on the role and work of the CSCE that have been made this morning, and I appreciate the friendly words addressed to me.

The Charter of the United Nations establishes an organic link between the United Nations and regional arrangements. This link is one of those elements of the Charter which, in an era marked by confrontation, could not really be developed or applied to the fullest extent. Today we are beginning to understand the potential of Chapter VIII of the Charter for strengthening the United Nations. As the Secretary-General of the United Nations has put it, regional entities can enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of United Nations efforts for peace. It is in this spirit and with the aim of strengthening the United Nations that the CSCE declared itself in the 1992 Helsinki Document to be a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the Charter. CSCE participating States were aware that doing so meant an increased responsibility for ensuring stability in the CSCE area. It was also well understood that this entailed a readiness to bear part of the burden for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The United Nations Charter does not prescribe detailed modalities for regional involvement. The allocation of tasks between the United Nations and regional arrangements and organizations remains a challenge. The meeting convened on 1 August 1994 in New York by the United Nations Secretary-General — the first meeting of its kind 50 years after the founding of the United Nations — was helpful in addressing the problems related to the practical application of Chapter VIII.

While cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and regional organizations should be approached on an individual basis, it seems that many regional organizations feel that they are particularly well fitted to engaging in a broad range of conflict-prevention activities and might offer comparative advantages specifically in that area.

Transforming the CSCE from the traditional and very successful conference framework it has been so far into a fully operational institution was not the result of careful and long-term political planning. The CSCE was not going around looking out for new tasks to justify its post-conflict existence. It was the other way around: new challenges, new crises and indeed new armed conflicts were crying out for a structure designed to deal with these phenomena and ready to do so. The CSCE, like other regional arrangements and organizations, could not wait for new grand designs for the new security architecture in the CSCE area. It had to set about its task now, the task of contributing to finding pragmatic solutions to acutely urgent problems. The CSCE is making this contribution in three main areas: the promotion of common values, especially those relating to human rights, democracy and the rule of law, the market economy, social justice and other key areas of a civic society; conflict prevention and crisis management; and the promotion of the development of cooperative security.

The past year has seen the realization of important political developments supported by the CSCE. As promised in the 1992 Helsinki summit declaration, the Russian Federation did indeed withdraw its troops from Estonia and Latvia. Agreements related to these important withdrawals established new collateral tasks for the CSCE, in particular concerning a radar station in Latvia and social welfare for retired Russian military personnel in Estonia and Latvia.

In an effort to make full use of the potential of all the CSCE participating States in the demanding tasks of crisis management, the Ministerial Council in Rome agreed that the CSCE should consider, on a case-by-case basis and under specific circumstances, the setting up of CSCE cooperative arrangements concerning third-party peace-keeping. Pioneering efforts by the Chairman-in-Office are

continuing further to define the details of such arrangements and reach final agreement.

The CSCE's potential for conflict prevention will be considerably enhanced by a new instrument. On 5 December 1994 the Convention on Conciliation and Arbitration within the CSCE will enter into force following its ratification by more than 12 CSCE participating States.

Finally, the CSCE has considerably expanded the potential for conflict prevention afforded by dialogue and multilateral consultations. Since January 1994, the Permanent Committee in Vienna, meeting every week at the level of Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives, has also been ensuring continuity and constant availability for decision-making.

In promoting the human dimension, the CSCE relies mainly on its Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw. In its fourth year of operation the Office has gained new strength and consolidated its profile as an entity specializing in election monitoring, advising on the rule of law and human rights. It also provides a forum for human-dimension development that is open to non-governmental organizations.

Regarding the military aspects of security, the CSCE has made a new contribution to its arms-control and confidence-building agreements with the adoption, in November 1993, of four new documents on, respectively, stabilizing measures for localized crisis situations; defence planning; military contacts; and principles governing conventional arms transfers. The latter document, combined with the constant attention devoted by the CSCE to non-proliferation issues, constitutes its practical input to the strengthening of global arms-control regimes pursued under the auspices of the United Nations.

With its all-inclusive membership, comprehensive open-ended agenda and high political credibility, the CSCE has a central role to play in the emerging regional security architecture within its area. The CSCE can offer a political basis and a channel for action for individual States as well as for other multilateral organizations in the area. This has been the essence of its supportive role in preparing the Stability Pact initiative of the European Union. Other examples are the political support provided by the CSCE for specific, practical steps such as the Western European Union (WEU) Danube-patrolling operation or the European Union (EU) monitoring activity in former Yugoslavia. Practically all CSCE operational activities open broad vistas for cooperation with the United Nations and other international organizations. A lot has been done to develop practical links. Highlights of this expanding cooperation are the political support by the Security Council for the CSCE's role in Nagorny Karabakh; the invitation to the CSCE to observe United Nations-sponsored talks in Georgia on Abkhazia and in Tajikistan; and the logistical support provided by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to the CSCE mission in Sarajevo.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations is absolutely right when he states, in his report on cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, that

"1994 has seen further development of the practical links between the United Nations and CSCE. This cooperation and coordination will be maintained and enhanced with the aim of extracting the best possible use from the resources made available by Governments to international organizations to carry out the tasks assigned to them". (A/49/529, para. 13)

While the CSCE strengthens mutually reinforcing cooperation with international organizations, it is also developing its contacts with countries outside the CSCE area. The traditional links between the CSCE and nonparticipating Mediterranean States are about to develop into new dimensions in the framework of substantially increased contacts with Israel, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Specific relations have been established and further developed with Japan and, as of 1994, broad contacts have been agreed with South Korea.

As we analyse our situation and our possibilities, there is no reason for complacency. But we must not be discouraged if in the short term we cannot find the right answers to the multitude of old and new challenges confronting us. Let me quote a United States analyst, who pleaded for a

"little respect for the historical newness and complexity of the situation, a little patience while we do sensible things".

That is what the CSCE is aiming at: to do sensible things.

The CSCE Summit, to be held in Budapest, will strengthen the CSCE's capability of doing just this: doing sensible things and developing the CSCE's contribution to a new stability. This will at the same time give the CSCE a clear profile as a bulwark against the development of new divisions and as the guardian of indivisible security in the CSCE area.

The **President:** We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/49/L.20.

I should like to announce that Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have become co-sponsors of the draft resolution.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/49/L.20?

The resolution was adopted (resolution 49/13).

The President: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 27?

It was so decided.

Tropical storm in Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica and the United States of America and earthquake in the Philippines

The **President:** May I, on behalf of Mr. Amara Essy, the President of the General Assembly at this session, and on behalf of all the members of the Assembly, extend deepest sympathy to the Governments and peoples of Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, the Philippines and the United States of America on the tragic loss of life and extensive material damage that have resulted from the tropical storm that struck Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica and the United States of America, and from the earthquake that recently struck the Philippines.

May I also express the hope that the international community will show its solidarity and respond promptly and generously to any request for help.

Mr. Remírez de Estenoz Barciela (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, my delegation wishes to express its gratitude to you, Sir, for your words on this new scourge that has been inflicted on our country, this time by nature. Indeed, only a few hours ago the people of Cuba, like the people of sister countries in the Caribbean, suffered the consequences of an

atmospheric phenomenon that usually leads to human and material losses.

Tropical storm "Gordon", which for several days had been lashing Caribbean territories, finally hurled its destructive force at my country also. We have not yet been able to assess all the damage, but so far two human lives have been lost and there has been major economic damage, including, up to now, the destruction of more than 70,000 banana plants and 52,000 tonnes of salt, not to mention the tremendous damage to the coffee, sugarcane and vegetable harvests. In addition, 30 bridges have been severely damaged, as has the rail system of Guantánamo Province. Twelve thousand houses have also been severely damaged, and more than 65,000 people have had to be evacuated.

It is regrettable that this calamity has added to the suffering already caused to my people by the difficulties we face for reasons known to all delegations present here. We are therefore most grateful for the statement by you, Sir, and for the gestures of solidarity and support from the international community in regard to the human and material losses suffered by my people.

Mr. Rodrigue (Haiti) *(interpretation from French)*: Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and the people of Haiti I would like to thank you for your kind expression of sympathy, on behalf of the General Assembly, on the loss of many lives and the significant property damage resulting from hurricane Gordon.

I wish also to express our gratitude to those delegations which, upon learning of the disaster, immediately expressed their support for the Government and the people of Haiti. This expression of solidarity which bears witness to the interest shown for Haiti and its people has moved us deeply.

Mr. Manalo (Philippines): On behalf of the people and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, I wish to convey our profound thanks and gratitude for the kind expressions of sympathy from you, Mr. President, and the members of the General Assembly following the strong earthquake which struck the island of Mindoro in the Philippines at approximately 3.15 yesterday afternoon.

Preliminary reports so far indicate that lives have been lost and that there has been considerable property damage.

My delegation once again thanks the Assembly and will, as soon as possible, convey the Assembly's expression of sympathy and solidarity to our authorities. **Mr. Gelber** (United States of America): Mr.President, on behalf of my fellow countrymen and my Government, permit me to express appreciation for your thoughts and words and those of delegations of Members of the United Nations.

Notwithstanding our own losses, our hearts go out to the people of the Philippines and to all our neighbours in the Caribbean. Those who have suffered have our condolences for the pain and anguish in this their hour of loss. They should know that my Government has taken preliminary relief measures at Guantanamo and in Haiti and has sent personnel to assess the situation on the Philippine island of Mindoro. We want to help and we will do all we can appropriately to be of assistance.

Each day news of fresh calamities touch our hearts. Natural disasters of the kind we now address call upon us all to renew our commitment to United Nations and national efforts to mitigate the human costs of destructive visitations. The humanity which today bears eloquent witness to a generosity of spirit leaves us no choice but to work for a better tomorrow.

Agenda item 28

Cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States

(a) Report of the Secretary-General (A/49/519)

(b) Draft resolution (A/49/L.16)

The President: I call on the representative of Egypt, to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.16.

Mr. El-Safty (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: On behalf of the delegations of the Member States of the League of Arab States, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/49/L.16 under agenda item 28 concerning co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States.

It was a happy coincidence that the United Nations and the League of Arab States were established at almost the same time to express the hopes and aspirations of peoples for a better future after the horrors the world endured during the Second World War. At that time, the independent Arab States had joined the United Nations in order to attain, through cooperation with other countries of the world, that future after which their peoples aspired. At the same time, the Arabs also agreed to cooperate among themselves with the aim of helping other Arab countries that were still languishing under the yoke of colonialism, and of developing regional cooperation amongst Arab countries in the search for a better future for their peoples and for a just peace in the Middle East.

In 1981, the General Assembly laid the foundations of cooperation between the United Nations and the Arab League by adopting its resolution 36/24 by virtue of which the League of Arab States was granted Observer status. In that resolution, the General Assembly stressed the importance of continued close association by the United Nations and its specialized agencies on the one hand, and the League of Arab States, on the other, in order to promote the efforts of the League of Arab States in furthering the social and economic development of its member State and in advancing intra-Arabs as well as international cooperation in that field. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to continue to take the necessary measures to strengthen cooperation at the political, economic, cultural and administrative levels between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. Since 1981, that cooperation continued to increase in the various fields, and periodic meetings continued to be held between the secretariats of the two Organizations with the aim of coordinating efforts in those spheres.

The forty-eighth session witnessed an important development in the history of cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. That important development was the consensual adoption, for the first time, by the General Assembly of a resolution on cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States namely, resolution 48/21. This development was important because it reflected the historic change witnessed by the Middle East region with the launching of the peace process that aims at achieving a comprehensive and just settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, a long sought-after objective of the Arab League's and one which had long occupied the United Nations.

Acceptance by the parties concerned that the Security Council resolutions should be the fundamental frame of reference for any peace settlement that may be achieved through the peace process is telling proof of the significance of the focal role played by the United Nations in this respect. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express, once more, the hope that the current peace process will culminate in the achievement of the desired comprehensive and just peace that would guarantee the legitimate right of all the parties concerned, including the rights of the Palestinian people, who should be enabled to exercise all those legitimate national rights on the entirety of their native soil, including Al-Quds, as well as the right of every State in the region to live in peace with full respect for its borders and its territorial integrity.

The draft resolution before the Assembly, whose sponsors now include Comoros, contains preambular paragraphs that stress the desire of the League of Arab States to enhance further the ties that now exist with the United Nations in the political, economic, social, humanitarian, cultural and administrative fields with a view to promoting the principles and purposes of the Charter.

In its operative paragraphs, the draft resolution takes note with satisfaction of the report of the Secretary-General and recommends that cooperation between the two organizations should continue and be further strengthened. It also commends the continued efforts of the League of Arab States to promote multilateral cooperation amongst the Arab countries, and calls upon the United Nations system to continue to lend its support to the League of Arab States in this respect. The draft resolution also calls for a general meeting between the United Nations system and the League of Arab States to be held once every two years, in addition to the annual inter-agency sectoral meetings.

Operative paragraph 12 of the draft resolution refers to the coincidence of the fiftieth anniversary of both the United Nations and the League of Arab States I have just mentioned. The League, since its very inception, has sought to improve regional cooperation between its member States for the benefit of their peoples and in observance of the objectives of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

In view of the events now taking place in the Middle East region and the historic opportunity now before us for the achievement of peace and the creation of a new framework of relationships amongst the countries of the region on a basis of regional cooperation, the consolidation of the role of the League of Arab States in this context represents an agreed upon international objective that should enjoy the wide-ranging support of all the members of the international community. That support should be translated into support for further cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. By adopting the draft resolution now before it by consensus, the General Assembly would be expressing clearly international support for that objective.

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V) of 1 November 1950, I now call on the Observer of the League of Arab States.

Mr. Abul-Nasr (League of Arab States) (interpretation from Arabic): The League of Arab States which was founded a few months before the United Nations in 1945, will be celebrating its own fiftieth anniversary next year. There is no doubt that the sum total of the past experience in the area of cooperation between the two Organizations over the years is characterized by outstanding achievements despite many difficulties and challenges. This has highlighted the importance of continuing and increasing cooperation between the two Organizations with a view to implementing the principles and achieving the objectives of their two Charters with the aim of maintaining and strengthening international peace and security and serving the shared interests of the two Organizations not only at the political level, but also in the economic, social, cultural, humanitarian and administrative fields.

In this connection, I should like to reiterate the importance the League of Arab States and its specialized agencies attach to continuing and intensifying cooperation with the United Nations and its specialized agencies in all areas, as set out in the Secretary-General's report now before the General Assembly. The report reviews the main achievements in the areas of cooperation, coordination, consultation and exchange of information between the two Organizations at all levels during the period under review.

Last year, at its forty-eighth session, the General Assembly recommended that a general meeting be held between the two Organizations once every two years, in addition to the annual joint sectoral meetings between the two Organizations and their specialized agencies, with the aim of discussing the priority concerns relating to the development of the Arab Countries.

The Secretary-General's report (A/49/519) now before the Assembly refers to the sectoral meeting held in Vienna last July between the two Organizations on human resources development in rural areas, to which all the specialized agencies of the two Organizations were invited. This sectoral meeting drew up programmes of action and cooperation projects and made specific recommendations. In this connection, I should like to extend thanks on behalf of the League of Arab States to the Secretariat of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies of the Organization, particularly to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), which acted as the lead agency for the meeting.

In accordance with the recommendation by the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, referred to in draft resolution (A/49/L.16) which was introduced a few minutes ago by the representative of Egypt, we hope that, next year, in 1995, a general meeting will be held on cooperation in all areas between the United Nations and the League of Arab States and their specialized agencies with the aim of expanding the scope of coordination in drawing up and implementing joint programmes and cooperative projects between the two Organizations that would work in the interests of restoring and maintaining peace and security and accelerating the process of economic and social development particularly in our region.

We hope that the results of the general meeting will be commensurate with the importance of the fiftieth anniversaries of both Organizations. We believe that the meeting will afford us a unique opportunity to conduct a comprehensive and objective review of the ongoing cooperation between the two Organizations and to develop a joint approach to mutual cooperation over the next decade.

The League of Arab States has expressed its appreciation of and support for the recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), particularly modalities for cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements and organizations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. The League of Arab States participated in the important meeting in New York on 1 August this year, to which the Secretary-General of the United Nations invited the Secretaries-General of all regional organizations for an exchange of views on the ways and means of consolidating and enhancing cooperation in the field of maintaining international peace and security. At that meeting the League of Arab States outlined its own vision of how such cooperation could be enhanced and what steps should be taken to achieve the common goals, particularly in the area of preventive diplomacy and the ways and means of maintaining international peace and security and of resolving conflicts by peaceful means, especially in our Arab region.

Nowadays, the world witnesses the emergence of new international political realities that involve wide-ranging changes in regional and international relations. Those new realities have resulted in an increased burden of responsibility for the United Nations in the search for solutions to numerous issues, particularly those that relate to the maintenance of international peace and security. They have also made it necessary for the United Nations to coordinate and cooperate with regional organizations in trying to resolve the problems of the regions to which those organizations belong.

The League of Arab States follows with great interest the laudable efforts deployed by the United Nations and the Secretary-General in the search for peaceful solutions to such problems. In this connection, we wish to reiterate our continued support to the role of the international Organization, and our continued cooperation with it within the limits of our resources so that peace, security and stability may prevail, particularly in our region. It is our fervent hope that the United Nations and the values embodied in the purposes and principles of its Charter, will provide the wherewithal to lay the foundations of the new era which, we hope, will be founded on genuine respect for the interests of States and peoples and their legitimate right to live in peace, security, equality and dignity.

In this connection, the League of Arab States warmly welcomes the recent tendency by the Security Council in its resolutions to refer to the importance of cooperation and coordination with the League of Arab States with regard to certain problems that have a bearing on the Arab region.

The League of Arab States has always been and will continue to be in the forefront of the international community's support for the role of the United Nations and for the implementation of its resolutions in all areas, particularly those resolutions that have reaffirmed the right of peoples to freedom, sovereignty and dignity and the inalienable right to self-determination. Naturally the League of Arab States is particularly interested in resolutions that relate to our region and hopes the Palestinian people will be able, at the earliest, to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, to establish their own independent State thus making it possible to ensure the return of the refugees, to dismantle the settlements and to put an end to the Israeli occupation of all Arab territories including Al-Quds al-Sharif.

The resolutions adopted by the Council of the League of Arab States at its recent meetings have urged the continuance of the peace process until the League's objectives are achieved. Those objectives are the achievement and entrenchment of peace on the solid foundations of international legality, particularly the implementation of Security Council resolutions nos. 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 425 (1978) as well as the land-for-peace principle, in the hope that this would usher in a new era in the history of the Middle East and make it possible for the region's peoples to work for development, progress and prosperity.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate the Arab League's support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations and its Charter and to wish the Organization every success in facing up to the challenges that confront it. We are fully prepared to make every possible effort to enhance our cooperation with the United Nations toward the building of a better world.

The **President:** There are no further speakers in the debate on this agenda item.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/49/L.16. May I take it that the Assembly decided to adopt draft resolution A/49/L.16?

Draft resolution A/49/L.16 was adopted (resolution 49/14).

The President: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their position on the resolution just adopted.

May I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Howley (United States of America): The United States delegation was pleased to be able to join the consensus in adopting this resolution on cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. We believe, as the resolution suggests, that cooperation between the United Nations and the Arab League can promote the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, including, importantly, the strengthening of international peace and security, regional cooperation and economic development.

The United States believes that the development of stronger economic links between the countries of the Middle East will promote regional economic growth and enhance efforts to achieve a comprehensive and lasting peace in the region. It follows that measures and practices that prevent the development of such links impede the achievement of peace.

We believe that the Arab League's boycott of Israel, by discouraging the trade and investment flows that promote economic integration and economic growth, undermines the efforts now under way to bring peace and prosperity to the Middle East.

We welcome the decision of some Arab League member States to cease implementation of certain provisions of the boycott affecting trade with third countries. At the same time, the boycott remains an impediment to economic development and to peace and reconciliation in the Middle East.

The Middle East peace process is beginning to produce tangible results that are being felt in the lives of people in the region. The boycott is increasingly at odds with the spirit of the time in which we live. We call on the League of Arab States and its members to move quickly to lift all aspects of the boycott.

Mr. Jacob (Israel): The delegation of Israel joined the consensus on the draft resolution that has just been adopted. In so doing, we were guided by our desire to make peace with all our neighbours — and they are all members of the League of Arab States. Israel rejoined the consensus on this item last year. Since then significant progress has been made in the peace process: two additional agreements were signed with the PLO, and a peace Treaty was signed between Israel and Jordan. Progress was also made in the multilateral negotiations within the various working groups. We hope that progress will be made with the other parties to the bilateral negotiations as well.

Peace and economic cooperation are intimately linked. Just as we are committed to peace, we are equally committed to strengthening regional economic ties. We are encouraged by some steps that have been taken to lift economic boycotts — steps such as the decision of the Gulf Cooperation Council to lift the secondary and tertiary boycott against Israel. We had hoped that these positive developments would find expression in the framework of the League of Arab States. However, as yet, they have not. The time has come for the members of the League to take further measures so as to eliminate their boycott against Israel altogether. As a first step in this direction, the League of Arab States could adopt the decision taken by the Gulf Cooperation Council. The recent conference in Casablanca reflected the desire of countries in the region to establish regional economic cooperation. There was consensus among the conference participants that boycotts are incompatible with this goal. As was stated in the Casablanca declaration,

"The participants ... explored how best to accelerate the development of the region and overcome, as soon as possible, obstacles, including boycotts and all barriers to trade and investment. All agreed that there is a need to promote increased investment from inside and outside the region. They noted that such investment requires free movement of goods, capital and labour across borders in accordance with market forces, technical cooperation based on mutual interest, openness to the international economy, and appropriate institutions to promote economic interaction ... In this context, the participants noted favourably the decision of the Gulf Cooperation Council regarding the lifting of secondary and tertiary aspects of the boycott of Israel."

Israel supports the cooperation between the United Nations and various regional organizations, including the League of Arab States. Indeed, this cooperation is based on the provisions of the United Nations Charter. In this context, it is regrettable that, owing to the political objections of some Member States, Israel still does not belong to a regional group at the United Nations. Israel calls upon the members of the League of Arab States to lift their objections to the admission of Israel to the Asian Group. The fact that Israel currently is denied membership of any regional group stands in direct contradiction of the basic principle of the universality of the United Nations.

This is the first resolution on an issue related to the Middle East to be adopted by the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. We are pleased that it was adopted by consensus, and we hope that more resolutions related to the region will be adopted by the same procedure. However, to ensure that this happens, all parties should exercise restraint and should refrain from submitting contentious draft resolutions that one side to the peace negotiations would find impossible to support.

The President: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 28?

It was so decided.

Agenda item 31

Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference

(a) Report of the Secretary-General (A/49/465)

(b) Draft resolution (A/49/L.23)

The President: I call on the representative of Pakistan to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.23.

Mr. Khan (Pakistan): In its capacity as the current Chairman of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, Pakistan has the honour of introducing, on behalf of the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the draft resolution entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference", which is contained in document A/49/L.23 of 11 November 1994. The objective of this draft resolution is to further reinforce the extremely useful cooperation that already exists in a number of fields between the OIC and the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

We are most grateful to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report (A/49/465) on the state of co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Ever since its establishment, the Organization of the Islamic Conference has remained unwavering in its commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The Charter of the OIC explicitly reaffirms that organization's commitment to the United Nations Charter and to fundamental human rights. It also stresses the determination of OIC members to contribute to the attainment of progress, freedom and justice throughout the world by promoting global peace and security. We therefore regard it as imperative that the two organizations continue to extend cooperation with a view to achieving the common objectives of the preservation of peace and security and the promotion of social and economic development.

In pursuit of its aims and objectives, and also to supplement the efforts of the United Nations in important areas of common concern, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, at all its meetings at both ministerial and summit levels, has adopted numerous resolutions on important global issues. These have included resolutions in the fields of disarmament, decolonization, the exercise of the right of self-determination, international peace and security, human rights and economic and technological development.

The Conference has also taken a number of initiatives to end hostilities and is prepared to contribute in tangible terms to that end. In this context, I should like to mention that, at its ministerial meeting in Islamabad in April of last year, the OIC offered more than 20,000 troops for peace-keeping duties with the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia. A number of UNPROFOR contingents belong to OIC countries.

Since obtaining observer status in 1975 the OIC has had a high degree of cooperation with the United Nations. The United Nations Secretary-General or his representatives have participated in all OIC ministerial conferences and summit meetings. Our organization highly appreciates the consistent efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to widen the scope of the existing cooperation between our two organizations.

The draft resolution that I have the honour of introducing is identical to resolutions adopted under the same agenda item at earlier sessions of the General Assembly.

The preamble of the draft resolution takes into account the desire of both organizations to cooperate more closely in their common search for resolution of global problems. It recalls the relevant articles of the Charter of the United Nations and encourages the activities through regional cooperation to promote the purposes and principles of the United Nations. It recognizes the need for closer cooperation between the specialized agencies of both organizations for the implementation of mutually agreed proposals. It notes and welcomes the important meeting held with the purpose of furthering cooperation between the two organizations.

In its operative paragraphs, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, expresses its appreciation to the United Nations Secretary-General for his continued efforts to strengthen cooperation and coordination between the two organizations for the advancement of their mutual interests in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. The Secretaries-General of both organizations are requested to continue their encouragement to convene sectoral meetings in the priority areas of cooperation.

The draft resolution also calls upon the General Assembly to request both our organizations to continue

cooperation in their common search for solutions to global problems in a wide range of fields. It encourages the specialized agencies and other organs of the United Nations system to continue and broaden their cooperation with the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). It urges the United Nations to provide technical and other forms of assistance to the OIC. It decides to include in the provisional agenda of the fiftieth session of the General Assembly the item entitled "Cooperation between the

United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference." The Secretary-General of the United Nations is requested to report to the fiftieth session on the state of cooperation between the United Nations and the OIC.

On behalf of the States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, I would request the members of the Assembly to support the draft resolution and to facilitate its adoption by consensus, as has been the case in previous years.

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3369 (XXX), adopted on 10 October 1975, I now call upon the Observer for the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Mr. Ansay (Organization of the Islamic Conference): It is again a privilege for me to address the General Assembly on an item of particular importance to the United Nations and the Organization I represent, namely, "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference".

Allow me to begin by extending to His Excellency Mr. Essy my warmest congratulations on his election to the high office of the presidency of the General Assembly. I would like at the same time to pay a tribute to His Excellency Ambassador Insanally, Permanent Representative of Guyana, who served in an excellent and exemplary manner as President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, not only for his brilliant report before us but for his significant contribution to the effectiveness and smooth functioning of the world body. His several achievements in the name of peace during a short span of time speak for themselves. We wish him the best in the future and assure him of our utmost collaboration in the undertakings he has initiated in the form of particular cooperation between the United Nations and our organization relating to specific matters. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate our sister international organizations on the adoption by consensus of the resolutions of cooperation between the United Nations and their respective bodies, namely, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the League of Arab States. The unanimous adoption of the resolution on cooperation between the League of Arab States and the United Nations indeed signifies the new spirit of continuing tangible progress prevailing in the Middle East peace process.

The members and the founding fathers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) from the outset clearly identified the role of the OIC within the overall framework of the United Nations Charter. The Charter of the OIC underlines the determination of its 51 member States, as well as the three observers, to make effective contributions to the enrichment of mankind and the achievement of progress, freedom and justice all over the world by promoting global peace and security.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference derives its inspiration from the eternal and noble message of Islam, and its establishment was predicated on the principles of peace, harmony, tolerance, equality and justice for all.

The charter of the OIC reaffirms the commitment of our members to the Charter of the United Nations. The perceptions of the members of the OIC, all of which are also Members of the United Nations, are identical to those of the vast majority of the United Nations membership on important international issues. It is natural that the two organizations should work closely to promote the ideals, principles and objectives that they share.

Since its inception in 1969 the OIC has adopted numerous resolutions and declarations, both at the summit level at its six previous summit meetings, and at the level of foreign ministers at its past 21 ordinary and 7 extraordinary ministerial meetings, addressing the issues that confront the Islamic world as well as important global developments relating to international peace and security, disarmament, human rights, minorities, decolonization and issues relating to socio-economic development.

It may be relevant here to inform the Assembly that the twenty-second Islamic Conference meeting of foreign ministers and the following seventh Islamic Summit meeting will be held next month, from 9 to 14 December, in the Kingdom of Morocco.

Cooperation between the two organizations received an important boost in 1975 when the Organization of the Islamic Conference was granted observer status by the United Nations. By late 1970s it was felt that the everincreasing interaction of the two organizations should be given an institutional framework whereby the secretariats and the specialized agencies, organs and bodies of the two organizations could hold regular consultations to review their ongoing work and to examine the possibilities of expanding and enlarging their areas of cooperation.

Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 35/36 in 1980, which was the first resolution on cooperation between the United Nations and the OIC, a number of cooperation agreements have been concluded by our organization with specialized agencies and other bodies of the United Nations system, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and the United Nations bodies concerned with technical cooperation for development.

The cooperation between the United Nations and the OIC, which has always been complementary in nature, has also been mutually satisfactory and developing in a meaningful manner. Ever since the first meeting between the representatives of the secretariats of the OIC and its specialized institutions and those of the United Nations system, which was held in 1983, the two organizations have expanded their cooperation on a number of important projects in the nine already identified priority areas in the social, economic and cultural fields that have been discussed in the Secretary-General's report, document A/49/465 of 4 October 1994. Since 1983, the two organizations have made concerted efforts in the common search for solutions to both regional and international conflicts and problems relating to peace and security and economic, social and cultural development, as well as combating terrorism and human rights. Thus, 1994 marks the eleventh year of active cooperation between the OIC and the United Nations and the fifteenth year since the adoption by the General Assembly of the first resolution on cooperation.

At the same time, the ongoing in-the-field cooperation between the OIC and the United Nations relating to the situation in Somalia is continuing, and the OIC is doing its utmost to assist the United Nations to resolve the current tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to establish peace there with the active participation of several thousands of troops of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) from Islamic countries.

Pursuant to resolution 48/24 of 24 November 1993, a general meeting on cooperation was held at Geneva from 9 to 11 May 1994 between representatives of secretariats of the United Nations system and of the OIC and its specialized institutions. In accordance with the agreement between the coordinating secretariats, participants reviewed cooperation and appraised the progress achieved in the implementation of the recommendations that had been adopted at previous meetings in the nine priority areas, namely: food security and agriculture; the development of science and technology; investment mechanisms and joint ventures; education and the eradication of illiteracy; assistance to refugees; technical cooperation; development of trade; human-resources development; and the environment.

Participants agreed to continue and strengthen cooperation in the nine priority areas, as defined in specific agreements reached between the agencies of the two organizations. It was also agreed that the next focalpoint meeting of the lead agencies of the United Nations and the OIC would be held in 1995. Participants further recognized the need to strengthen cooperation in the political field.

Finally, to enhance United Nations-OIC cooperation further, participants proposed: that a review should be undertaken of the ways and means to enhance the actual mechanisms of cooperation; that contacts should be intensified between the focal points of the two organizations; that additional cooperation arrangements between United Nations and OIC institutions should, where appropriate, be concluded, in line with General Assembly resolutions; that memorandums of understanding should be signed between all the agencies of the United Nations and the OIC wherever relevant; that suitable programmes should be identified and formulated within the framework of cooperation; and that serious efforts should be made by both organizations to include projects and activities with longer life and continuing substantive value for member countries. Funding organizations in the United Nations and in OIC countries will be invited to support such projects and activities. Progress in these types of activities will be regularly reported upon at meetings of the United Nations and of the OIC. Participation by funding agencies in the meetings will be emphasized by the United Nations and the OIC.

On 1 August 1994, the Secretary-General of the United Nations convened a high-level meeting in New York with 10 regional and other international organizations with which the United Nations has had close cooperation over the last few years. The meeting was the first of its kind and was attended by the Secretary-General of the OIC, His Excellency Mr. Hamid Al-Ghabid, together with high-level representatives of other regional organizations. The timeliness and significance of the meeting were confirmed, with participants stressing the need to find ways to explore the potential of Chapter VIII of the Charter for enhancing cooperation between the United Nations and regional and other international intergovernmental organizations.

Furthermore, on the invitation of the OIC and the Government of Pakistan, the Associate Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) represented the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the extraordinary meeting of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Islamabad, Pakistan, from 6 to 9 September 1994.

Regular consultations were also held and information was exchanged between the Department of Political Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat and the general secretariat of the OIC, as well as the office of the Permanent Observer of the OIC to the United Nations in New York. The head of the United Nations special mission for Afghanistan, Ambassador Mestiri, and the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Tajikistan, Ambassador Piriz-Bállon, visited OIC headquarters in Jeddah during the course of the year for consultations with senior officials. An OIC observer also participated in the third round of United-Nations-sponsored inter-Tajik talks, which recently took place in Islamabad from 20 to 31 October 1994.

On 3 October 1994, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States members of the OIC held their annual coordination meeting at United Nations Headquarters to discuss the agenda of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly, particularly those items of concern and interest to the OIC. In response to an invitation from the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Director of the West Asia Division of the Department of Political Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat attended the coordination meeting on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Again on 3 October 1994, the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the OIC held a meeting at United Nations Headquarters and exchanged views on a number of important subjects of interest to both organizations. This was followed by a meeting on the same day between a high-level OIC secretariat delegation, headed by the OIC's Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, and representatives of the Department of Political Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, during which it was agreed that discussions on ways to strengthen political cooperation between the two secretariats would continue over the course of the coming year.

Let me assure the Assembly in the meantime that the OIC is fully conscious of the financial constraints on both organizations and that our cooperation process takes that factor into account.

The draft resolution before the Assembly, contained in document A/49/L.23 of 11 November 1994, which was introduced in detail by the representative of Pakistan, representative of the current Chairman of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, reflects the firm determination of the two organizations to continue to cooperate in several fields. Since there are no additional financial implications in the draft resolution, I am confident that it will have the unanimous approval of the membership of the Assembly.

The President: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

The General Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/49/L.23.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 49/15).

The President: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 31?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.